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Without Concealment. Without Compromise. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Corresponding Editor.

Pro-Slavery.

We copy from the Charleston (S. C.) Mercury another of the letters of the Right Reverend Rector of St. Philip's Church to Mr. Palfrey. There is nothing new in it that has not been answered, as far as it needs way, a thousand times; but the nowner manner in which it is put is "rich" to be lost:

To the Rev. and Hon. J. G. Palfrey, M. C.:

Hie, ubi, consutorum opibus extrue rebeios,
Expulit ecclesiam, pellit et ipse deos.
Et redit ad sese; Pol, me occidistis amici,
Non servastis, ait; cui sic extorta voluptas,
Et deneptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.

Horace.

He, when his friends, at much expense and pains,
Had snug preferment for his merits gain'd,
Came to himself—" Ah, cruel fiend!" he cried,
Is this to save me? Better far have died,
Than thus be robb'd of pleasure so refined,
The dear delusion of a raptured mind.—Francis.

Sir:—I fear that some of the Abolitionists answer too well the above description. The delusion that they have created in the minds and benefactors of the negroes is so grateful an error, that they repius if truth, more potent than hellebore, cleanses their brains of fancies. I have sometimes thought that if, instead of frightening off such persons, we could only force them to spend four or five years among us, as slave owners, on a small scale, full scope to carry out their schemes of African melioration, we should spoil much of their rhetoric, and greatly moderate their energy. The inquisitive genius of the South has been the capital on which their opponents have traded; and while it is natural for high-minded men to wince when openly called negro-teasers, and when their right to their property is flatly denied, as a question of mere policy the best course undoubtedly would be to let the South alone itself, by suffering the agitators to say all that they have to say, and propose all that they have to propose, and then quietly resting them there, as I doubt not a majority in Congress is always ready to do on a fair issue.

But the misfortune of the South is, that not the Abolitionists only, but almost all non-slaveholders, have quietly settled down in the conclusion that Slavery is a declining and, that, abstractly considered, no man has a right to hold property in his fellow-man. The effect of this state of opinion is, that our political economists, instead of busying their brains in devising means for self-defence; and if we can hold up our heads and make it appear that we are not absolute land-pirates and tyrants, the United States will be as safe as we are deemed fortunate. I ought not to disguise it, that this general sentence against them was not without influence upon the South itself, considered, we

voted against the Naval Appropriation Bill, because he preferred that it be rejected rather than four or five of the items should be passed. One of them proposed the removal of the obstruction in the Savannah River, among other things; and this was all he had to remark on that bill. But he would not take notice of an attack made upon his consistency by his colleague, (Mr. Giddings,) and by his friend (Judge Bayly.) It was charged that he, (Mr. Sawyer's constituent,) had urged in a mild manner, the gross, and drove them out of his district.

Mr. Bayly.—It is due to my friend and his district to say, that in my remarks on the question alluded to, I cast no imputation. The point of my remarks was against those who expelled free negroes from their soil, and not against representatives here encouraging the flight of slaves. The gentleman's constituents sent no such representative here. I hope he does not understand me as making a reproach.

Mr. Sawyer.—I will not, because I presume the gentleman did not understand the matter so well as my colleague. A portion of the press of Ohio say we are mobocrats. We deny it; yet these gentlemen have not made that defence. They did not let the bone go with the antidote, and the antidote with the bone. They circulated the slander, and never retracted. As one of the representatives of the state of Ohio, standing in my place, I say Ohio will never submit to the slave States sending their negroes into her borders. If the slave States ever make the attempt to do so, the banks of the Ohio would be lined with men, a mile deep, with their muskets, to prevent such a thing. Notwithstanding what the gentleman said, we acted not in violation of law, but in accordance with it, in ordering certain free negroes to remove from our confines. (The law of Ohio was read by the clerk at the request of Mr. Sawyer, to show that free negroes must give security for their good behaviour, and that the citizens of the township must eject them.) Four or five hundred of our citizens marched the negroes out, and gave chesers. We give you timely warning, negroes, you must not locate in our district. I proclaim to the world, the free negroes in the State of Ohio are ten times worse off than slaves in the slave States. The worst slaveholder in the land decrades their slaves as much as free negroes are degraded in Ohio. The Abolitionists are insensible to the misery they have started out. Ten or fifteen years ago, when abolitionism took its rise, it was not so called, but was known as ANTI-SLAVERY. If the societies had kept to that name, all the associations of colour should be swept away, and that "colored" indies and gentlemen should indiscriminately associate. (Laughter.) It was a disgrace to come to a white fully leaning on a negro's arm in going to church. They sat there together, said the Bible. There was no devil in the Bible, in New York and Boston. But that state of things was so revolting that it had to be abandoned. We are asked to let the negroes come among us, and to live on equality with the whites. Sir, our people will not submit to it. Do you suppose we will quietly fold our arms, and permit the slaveholders to send in crowds of free negroes? No, never.

Mr. Hale in the Senate, introduced a resolution a short time ago, instructing the Committee on the Judiciary to inquire into the propriety of taking such steps as will "secure to the coloured people" the rights of citizens in the free States. This meant to let the negroes go to the polls to vote, to give them the privileges of the free schools, to testify in the courts of justice, to be admitted to the bar, and to occupy seats on the bench. I ask my friend from New York (Mr. Dare) what he means by introducing his resolution, and whether he is prepared to go the Public Lands to set apart a portion of the public lands for the use of the free people of colour; and when they reach a certain number, to admit them into the Union and permit them to be represented in the House? Now here is a proposition to establish a negro State. Gentlemen on that (the Whig) side of the House refused to receive poor white men; but here they went for a resolution having a tendency to allow negroes to vote, and to be representatives. [Laughter.] Such a State ought to be called after the gentleman's name.

Mr. Dare—Does the gentleman desire an answer?

Mr. Sawyer—Not now.

Mr. Dare—The gentleman grossly misrepresents.

The Chairman—Order! order!

Mr. Sawyer—I took the resolutions which I have read out of the *National Intelligencer* yesterday morning. It is a matter of conviction, I am not responsible for it. I put it out of a White paper, and I have read it as it now stands. I do not think it be long after you get free negroes there, that you would be asked to give them the privileges of white men. I ask free white men whether they are willing to submit to this?

I say to our Southern friends deliver to us the doughfaces; deliver them to our tender mercies. We Democrats of the West and of the South will soon bring them to do our interests and of yours also. We keep our eyes on the old handkerss—on the letter of the Constitution. You have right guaranteed to you by the Bible, and we to the West. You have one species of property and we another. You have been charged with being doughfaces; and gentlemen who make that charge do not only go the doughface, but the doughmind. [Ha! ha! ha!] What is the meaning of doughface? I believe it is, that the dough being soft, can be pinched and moulded, and exhibit any aspect you please. I believe that animal augustism has been almost reduced to a science. It is not necessary to that, by touching a certain part of the cranium, certain effects are produced. If you touch one of the bumps of the doughhead, benevolence may be the result; and then there is no sympathy for any other kind of person! [Ha! ha!] Touch another bump of the doughhead, and the doughface will go saving every one is benevolent to the President; but when you touch another, the doughface will horrify the South Carolina Taylor, although he is a large slaveholder. [Laughter.] The principle is the same in all the variance. Then men make everything else bow to ambitionism. They never can be considered consistent with slave States are the real Abolitionists, not in words, but in deeds. If they deserve anything, they deserve credit. Maryland has abolished slaves than all the free States taken together. When Mr. McLean was in London, on our minister there, a meeting was rotten up, at which Maryland was taunted as a piliaschropic and Christian spirit. I believe that this Mr. McLean is the father of the gentleman of that name on this floor. Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, have of their free will, emancipated more slaves than all the other States since the formation of the Government. Maryland emancipated to the extent of from seven to twenty millions of dollars. While England, with her friends here, are condemning the Southern men for what their doctrines on the subject of Slavery, they forget that we owe the institution of Slavery to England herself. I say without hesitation, that the Southern people are the worst foes the negroes have. If they be really the friends of the slave, do they take the proper steps to emancipate them? No. They refuse to let them escape from bondage. Let the subject alone. If the negroes are a nuisance, the Southern people will find it out. Some of the States, now slaves, will find it out, but it has not been for the impertinent interference of the Abolitionists. [That's a fact.] (After some further remark, Mr. Sawyer said that he understood that a call of the speech at large on this point, and that he would not be further discussed.)

Mr. Dare spoke loudly and rapidly, but owing to our position in the Hall, the voice was broken into fragments by the reverberations, so that we could not hear a word. He was understood to say—The gentleman from Ohio alluded to the proposition I submitted some days since. For aught I know, he correctly read the resolution, but he misrepresented its object. The gentleman was also pleased to make some remarks personal to myself. He is not a person of that class—

The Chairman—The Chair would remind the gentleman that anything personal is out of order.

Mr. Dare—I am not aware of having said anything offensive.

The *Chairman*—I thought so.

Mr. Dare—The gentleman says that my proposition looked to a state for the blacks, with their representatives on the floor. I introduced the resolution because I offered a resolution designed to give territory to blacks, where they could live and govern themselves, and when their number reached a certain point, they could form constitutions praised to the people of the territories. I never dreamed to incorporate them into a State of the Union. It is a misrepresentation or a misconception. I think the gentleman said that while we are willing to give lands to blacks, we refuse to give lands to poor white man. Now, I took occasion, at a previous period, to say that I was willing to grant lands to free white persons, to certain conditions. The gentleman commenced that he and his friends would stand on the banks of the Ohio, and with musket and bayonet would prevent free negroes from coming among them. I say that the people I would protect the blacks. The regret is that they now have no home. Will you not provide some place for creatures to live somewhere? For the purpose of affording them a home, I introduced the humane proposition. I only know whether the gentleman was sober or me when he spoke of doughfaces. When you ask what the word means, you must not come to Northern men. It was a Southern man who first used it. I, for one, did not so apply that term, because all Northern men do not here with me on the subject of Slavery and the Wilmot Proviso. I don't say therefore, that they are doughfaces. To vote for General Taylor involves no inconsistency. What is the difference between the position which Cass entertains and those which are entertained by Gen. Taylor. While Zachery Taylor is under no pledges with regard to the Wilmot Proviso, Cass has pledged his veto any act to prohibit Slavery in the territories. I think there can be no honorable understanding between the North and the South, viz: to let all speak and think for themselves.

MR. VAN BUREN'S ACCEPTANCE.—The *Albany Atlas* says, that it is able to say, upon the best authority, that Mr. Van Buren will not "consent to further agitation" of the course adopted by his friends in his nomination. This is understood as an acceptance of that nomination.

MR. VAN BUREN ON FREE SOIL.

Correspondence with the Radical Delegates to Baltimore from this State.

Letter of the Newburgh Delegates.

NEW-YORK, June 16, 1848.

HON. MARTIN VAN BUREN, ex-President of the United States.

SIR:—The undersigned, Delegates appointed by several of the Assembly Districts of the city and county of New-York, to represent and District in the Democratic State Convention, to be held at Utica, on the 22d instant, complying with their own feelings and with those of their constituents, find it necessary to address you on a question of paramount importance to the Democracy of the State before the proposed Convention.

This momentous question, we are aware, has been convoked in consequence of the arbitrary and insulting exclusion by the National Convention lately held at Baltimore, of the Democracy of this State in that Convention, from any effectual vote or voice in its deliberation, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice President.

If the Convention shall decide to make such nominations, upon every sound, and, as we believe, to those of the whole body, will instinctively be turned to you, as the Democratic Statesman best qualified by talent and experience to fill the Presidential office, and most devoted to Democratic principles, to receive the first of these nominations. The great Jeffersonian doctrine, now boldly repudiated at the South, is not too much for the Democracy of this State, that Slavery, or involuntary servitude, should not, by any action of the Federal Government, be extended to the Free Territories of the United States. Identified, however, with other and time-honoured doctrines of the Democratic faith, this doctrine commands the confidence of the highest economician for ability and worth, and such an one you will permit us to say, we shall present in you, should you be a candidate before us as a candidate, for the consideration of the Convention.

We are not insensible to the many reasons which may properly induce you to decline a re-election at your name. Having filled with the highest honour, the first station in the Republic, and having retired from the field of political arena, you may be unwilling to be drawn from the great and useful pursuits which occupy your attention, for the purpose of again entering the political lists in the strife of party. We remember that in your noble letter to the Democracy of this city, in June 1844, in which you gave to Messrs. Wright and Dix the support of your influence and character, a support which so greatly contributed to their election—you declared in reference to this nomination, and to the position in which you stood before the country, your career had forever closed.

Under these circumstances, and unwilling to embarrass one who has always, while in the political field, stood ready to place himself at the disposal of his friends, we feel that a full consideration will be placed upon a compliance with our wishes to the extent that we might, under other circumstances, be disposed to urge it.

We are, moreover, sure that you will naturally weigh the many and grave considerations which belong to the present crisis, in the spirit of a friend to your friends and justice to yourself. Should you feel yourself required to adhere to your previously expressed determination, we must again respectfully request that in declining you will not withhold from us your opinions and views, as well as in regard to the action of the Baltimore Convention, and the duty of the Democracy of this State in obedience, resting on the Democracy of New-York, toward the nominations made by that body, and the course proper to be pursued in the present crisis, by the Democracy of New-York as to the great issue before the country—the Extension of Slavery to Territories now Free.

We are, Sir,

Very respectfully and sincerely, your friends

[Signed by the Delegates.]

Reply of MR. VAN BUREN.

LINDENWALD, June 20, 1848.

GENTLEMEN:—I have received your kind letter, with feelings of no ordinary character. It comes from the most respectable body of men, and in the most respectful manner, claims upon my respect and gratitude. My reception by the lion-hearted Democracy of your great city, after my defeat in 1840, was under very circumstances, and displayed a depth of friendship which I can never forget. It made impressions upon my heart which will be indelible in this world, and which will never cease to beat. It is not in my nature to decline a compliance with any request which you may make of me, except for reasons of the strongest character, and which, I am sure you will, on further consideration, approve. The determination expressed in 1844, in my letter to the New York Committee, advising my friends to unite in the support of Mr. Polk, was formed after much reflection, and with an inflexible determination to adhere to it to the end. I beg of you to do me the justice to believe that it was in no degree influenced by that spirit of resentment which political disappointments are too apt to engender. I believed that the Democracy had been defeated during a highly excited, and as the result has shown, an unnatural state of the public mind, for adhering to a financial project, which I believed to be right, the Democratic masses everywhere, as soon as it became evident that the public mind was recovered from the delusions of the day, resolved, with extraordinary unanimity, that the policy which had been so successfully identified should be maintained, and the position of the people illustrated by my reelection.

The decision of the masses was reversed by their representatives in the Congress of 1841, and the measures vetoed for any mortification which my discomfiture in 1840 had occasioned by these expressions of confidence and favour. I determined, therefore, that I would unreservedly and anxious above all things for the success of the measures for which I have been so unsparingly arraigned, I forebore to urge my friends to vote for me on any occasions in the Convention of '44 were actuated, or the means in their reasonable power for the accomplishment of their object, and united with zeal and energy in support of the Democratic candidate.

But while this course of faith disobeying what I regard to be my duty, it did not fail to occur to me that the circumstances by which I was surrounded, presented on the occasion of the Baltimore Convention, a crisis in the public life, consistently with what was due to the country, to my friends, and to my own self-respect. I remained in which I could not be silent. That crisis is at present, my mind has not for a moment wavered in regard to the determination then announced. As an early period in the proceedings of the Baltimore Convention, the mind could be regarded as having taken anything like a definitive direction, I wrote a letter to its candidate, I affirmed my resolution in the regard to the duty of a worthy citizen of Pennsylvania, which has been extensively published, and in many of which with which I was not deemed necessary to trouble the public. A friendly application from our delegates to the last National Convention, for authority to use my name as a candidate, if they could do so under proper circumstances, made it as you appear to be informed, my unpleasant duty to refuse my consent to their doing so under any circumstances whatever. Having thus assumed and so long occupied this position, I trust to your friendship and past indulgence for a request for reasons for my unchangeable determination never again to be a candidate for public station. I have been for a long time receiving since retired from public life, with tacit approbation by my silence gives me a right to say so. If, while in the political field, I was willing to receive honours at the hands of my fellows of my political friends, I did not show myself at all times ready to obey, without regard to personal consequences, the calls of duty, and the wishes of my friends, is a matter self understood by those whom I was most anxious to please.

The considerations to which I have adverted, are not entitled to the same controlling influence in regard to the present occasion. Your request, therefore, would be in accordance with my preferences in such matters on ordinary occasions be felt that I could not, under existing circumstances, refuse to comply with your request for my opinions in relation to my Democratic friends in this State. I shall, therefore, give you my unreserved opinions upon the questions to which you refer, and I have no hesitation in saying so I shall endeavour to observe that respect and courtesy to your friends, in expressing views of others, which it has always been my desire to observe, and which is now more than ever appropriate to my position.

To give the views of the Democratic National Convention a claim upon the support of the Democracy of any State, it is indispensably necessary that the Democracy of that State should be fairly represented in such Convention, and allowed equal rights and privileges with the other States. Neither of these requisites was intelligibly demanded, was conceded by the recent Convention in no degree conceded by the Democracy of this State, although their rights and their duties are thus clear, it was not deemed necessary to urge the fraternal relations which have heretofore existed between the two States who composed the Convention, that it should be distinctly stated by the delegates from this State, of their conclusion; whether at that of our own Delegation or of the Convention. From this point both sets of Delegates claiming to represent New York, although differing in almost everything else, appear to have concurred in the opinion that the action of the Convention had been such as to put it out of their power to participate in its proceedings, without a total disregard of what was due as well to their own character as to the honour and just rights of their State. It was therefore but reasonable to expect, that, at least, the opinion against the slightest obligation on the part of the Democracy of New York to sustain the doings of the Convention, would be universal. To find either set of the Delegates who claimed to represent New York in that Convention, or their friends who approved of their conduct, casting reproach upon their opponents for not sustaining the decision of a body, of whose action in no degree had their own State any hand respectively formed and expressed the opinion to which I have referred, must, it seems to me, be regarded as a very extraordinary occurrence in politics.

It was plainly the duty of the Committee on Credentials to report the facts in relation to the delegations upon the conflicting claims referred to them. It is an indispensable fact that, instead of doing so they reflected the proceedings of the Hall of the State of New York from New York, that they would support the nominee of the Government, whoever he might be, and resolved that the delegates who refused to pledge themselves that they would not even look into the merits of their respective claims.

Now, when it is considered that no such pledge was required in any previous National Democratic Convention—that in the Convention of 1844, the Van Buren delegates from no entire State (Virginia) were permitted to announce their determination in advance not to support the Democratic nominations, and that the Convention, causing a question to be raised in regard to their seats in the Convention, and that they carried such refusal into full effect—that the Democracy of every other State in the Union has come into such pledge, without the slightest objection, and that the very Convention contained, without dispute as to their eligibility, Delegates from several States who could not enter into such pledge, without violating their duty to their constituents, whose views and intentions not to enter into it were not concealed—that the Convention itself had previously and expressly refused to require such pledge from its own members—that on the very Committee which so imperiously demanded it from the New York Delegates, there were members who had publicly declared their opinions in this respect—declared their utter unwillingness to take it themselves, and who, also, were nevertheless recognized as eligible and fit persons to act as candidates, for these things are considered, is it possible that any right-minded man can approve of the course of the Committee of the New York Delegates as an indignity to them, and to their State, of the rankest character? If it be not an indignity, what is it? Certainly it is not necessary to my self-respect that I should do it. But is that possible? That the Democracy of the State of New Resolutions were irreconcilable was apparent to that body at a glance. I had room for a moment's doubt that at least one of the Delegations would withdraw from the Convention, in the exercise her right to do so exclusively was examined and decided by the Convention, and it had not yet become too late for the Democracy of the State of New York to retrace the step which it took when the Convention decided that it appeared that the resolution not to take their seats was common to both Delegations. There was then no other course left for the Convention but to act upon the question of, than by examining into and deciding upon the conflicting claims before them. The unavoidable result of failing to do so, in such cases, and circumstances, was for the Convention to be regarded as without authority in New York. The principle of admitting both Delegations might do well enough in a difference of opinion between them was not one of principle, and where both parties finally assented to the arrangement, was one to which I was not under consideration. The matter was nevertheless so disposed of. New York was represented in the Convention by both sets of Delegates, and the consequences of which have been so unfortunately developed in the late Presidential canvass, and which it into effect be defeated by the Veto of the Executive.

The territories now owned by the United States and every acquisition of territory which may hereafter belong to the United States, whether obtained by annexation, by cession, by treaties conditional, or by conquest, must, as long as this opinion is held, and as I think the decision of the National Legislature is concerned, be subject to the action of Congress. The power conferred on it to submitted to on the assumption that the framers of the Constitution, with their attention directed to the subject, and with the power to prohibit it, or to grant it, failed to clothe Congress with the necessary powers to prevent it. I cannot with my vote contribute to this result. I believe it to be the duty of the Government in the opinion which we are called upon to sustain.

Determining these views of the Constitution, I could not by the Democracy of this State, in the nomination of this new principle in the administration of the Federal Government, without, at the same time, avowing myself to be in favour of the principle itself. This I cannot do, and this I can never do. Those who agree with me in the opinion that the power over this subject is a dormant one of our exercising it, and can still bring their minds to dissent from this conclusion, must have more light upon the subject than I possess, or more self-confidence than I possess. I do therefore unhesitatingly approve of the course you propose to pursue, in withholding your votes from the candidate of the Baltimore Convention. Any candidate whose name now before the country be presented, I shall not vote for President. The manner in which our political system is worked, and the expectations which dispose of their suffrages, is for them to determine, and with it we have nothing to do. But that they accord with the views of the people of the country on the power in question, and the expediency of exercising it whenever the occasion for so doing arrives, we have the best reason to know.

The power, the existence of which is at this late day denied by some, is, in my humble judgment, expressly by the Constitution. Its language, the circumstances under which it was adopted, the recorded explanations which accompanied it, and the practical construction which it has received from our highest judicial tribunals, and the very solemn and repeated confirmations it has derived from successive Presidential messages to the two houses of Congress, seem to me to render it still bring the

undertaken to encourage attempts at liberty. While we sympathize with treason abroad, must we not logically encourage it at home? We are so thoroughly compromised about, that we are suspicioned of a "niching malicho which means mischief" in all kinds of humanity.

There are many things in Mr. Mitchell's course which no sensible man could approve of, many which would shock a humane one. However yet ardent and sincere may have been his love of country, it is plain that his vision was bounded by the the walls of the United Irishmen office. The French Revolution seems in turn turned his brain. He became persuaded that a Government might be as much overthrown by a riot in provincial town, as by the rebellion of a metropolis whose ideas to a greater or less degree shaped those of an entire country. His tirades against "the Saxon" were not only childish, but bore conclusive evidence of a mind not at all alive to the hopes and demands of the age. A professed reformer who endeavours to refricate the antipathies of race must be so far either a fool or a hypocrite. This is the game of the tyrant, not of the patriot. It has been by means of these antipathies, the growth of barbarous and bloody times, that the greatest national crimes have been perpetrated, and the foulest national oppressions sustained.

Neither can we sympathize with Mr. Mitchel in his appeal to arms. Setting aside the question of its morality, it was unwise. Matters are wonderfully simplified for a Government when the demand for the redress of grievances is removed from the region of ideas to that of physical force. The oppressor can argue best with the cannon and the bayonet. The pike cannot reach him, though it be, as Mr. Mitchel advised on the end of a pitch-pole and fired by a match. Grape-shot Thought overleaps the wall of the fortress, and reaches him through the serried ranks of his guards. A thousand chances may bring about the defeat of the rebel, which would have been the allies of the peaceful reformer. It is hard fighting with ideas. The reformer is in league with them, but the rebel sets them in array against himself. He has to contend against the ideas of social order, of Government, and many more whose hold upon men's minds, naturally strong, has been tightened by invariable prescription. The habit of oppression can only be overcome by habit. It strengthens itself against a sudden and violent attack. The rebel, too, has set in motion forces which he cannot guide or control. The degraded ignorance of the oppressed which affords an unanswerable argument against the tyrant, may be turned with fatal force by the rebel to the charge of freedom. The English hated and feared O'Connel, but they laughed at Mitchel.

We were not among those who were shocked at the kind of weapons recommended by Mr. Mitchel and his friends. If the necessity of violence be once granted, we do not see much to choose, on the score of morality between bayonets and brickbats, prussic acid and powder. The object being to knock your enemy on the head, we cannot perceive any moral distinction between the staff of a pike and the butt of a musket. We believe God to be fully as well pleased with broken bottles as with grapeshot. The more savage war can be made to appear, the better. It is only sentimentalism which sees any difference between the medal voted by Congress and hung on the General's parlor, and the dried scalps ratling on the belt of the Indian Chief of the wild west.

We cannot understand how those who admit the necessity of any kind of government based upon physical force, can object to the trial and sentence of Mr. Mitchel. The question of his being abstractly right or wrong we have nothing to do with. As far as the English Government was concerned he was unquestionably guilty. He asked for foren, and he got it. He was bold enough to risk the hazard of the game, and the throw has been against him. He should have remembered that the Government played with loaded dice.

We are willing to do everything to the exasperation from which the condition of his unhappy country must have produced in a mind constitutionally inflammable. We believe him to have been sincere and devoted, though mistaken, and as such he deserves our deepest sympathy and respect. We have all political opinions, and honestly as individuals, but as Americans we must be dumb. What has Mr. Mitchel done that we should give to him the sympathy which we deny to Sayres, Drayton, and Enlish? The set which led to their imprisonment was a most disinterested one. It was the act of men of the purest character. If they had succeeded, they could not possibly have expected any reward but the approval of their own consciences. With Mr. Mitchel the case was different. It was something to be the spokesman of a disaffected people; a successful rebellion would have made him their chief.

If there be any reason for our encouraging rebellion in Ireland, we ought, *à fortiori* to promote insurrection among our slaves. Still more strongly would logical necessity compel us to foment it among the inhabitants of the provinces we have just conquered from Mexico. The English Government is fully as humane, as wise, and as just as our own. The social system of one half of our own country is worse than that of England. Our Government devotes itself to the extension and perpetuation of this system, while that of England is taking steps towards reform. Those who are in favor of the immediate and entire spoken testimony against American sins may be allowed to speak of English ones. One nation may oppress a white race and the other a black one, but tyranny is of one complexion all the world over.

Some enthusiastic Irishmen may fancy that our Government should interfere; others that an expedition should be fitted out for the rescue of Mitchel. There is not the slightest chance that Government will do the one, or allow the other. Slavery is too enduring to put its ugly head into the mouth of the British lion. If any expedition of sons are sent out, it is a expedition for the rescue of imprisoned martyrs for the cause of freedom, they can direct it towards the jail at Washington with more propriety and consistency than against the hulks at Bermuda.

J. S. L.

A Southerner and a Slaveholder's Letter.—The following letter has been put at our disposal, and we know of no better use to make of it, than to lay it before our readers, as a new instance of the kind of freedom of the press we enjoy in the Model Republic. The letter was addressed to Mr. Honeywell, the editor of the *Eagle*, a well-conducted and liberal paper published in this city. The postmark upon it was so blurred that we can only make out the State whence it came—Georgia:

Dear Sir,—Yankee impudence is proverbial. Reckless assurance is a high premium upon brain out of the question, when a man will attempt as you have done, to swindle the people out of a subsistence, by telling them that it is one of his objects "to obtain an honest living." It is, indeed, remarkable, if anything a pickpocket could do, could excite surprise, that you, a Yankee, and consequently of course a Whig, Abolitionist,—for you—a liar, a swindler, a dismisher, a hypocrite, a poor, unprincipled puppy, that do n't know what it is barking at, and a mean, low, paltry, drivelling jilt, to take such grounds in your New York Eagle, and then send it south of Mason and Dixon.

You thought you could get up something out a glorious Philippic, against our Institution of Slavery, in your paper of the 3d of June, under the head, "Thy will be done"—but it turned out to be n poor, contemptible, pitiful production, emanating from a Yankee's imagination, whose most remarkable characteristic is, innate rascality and envy.

Oh, God! if there be grades in hell, how low, awfully low, must that man be put, who would steal my money, under the guise of humanity—and break through one of Heaven's own Institutions, to arrive at his result.

Keep your paper at home, or come to Georgia and circulate it. Then, under an indictment for circulating a paper of an insurrectionary nature, you will meet your end on a gallows, where, I dare say, all of your ancestry have met it, not for abolitionism, but for stealing. And if this be true, a worthy son you are! Far from defiling their sacred ashes with honesty, you, quite an imitative lad, are following on in the thieving track, only on a broader scale.

Farewell, Sir—may you arrive at the highest proficiency in roguery, and as a reward for it, after the gallows shall have claimed you and all your lineal descendants, may the following couplet especially apply to you all:

"Here thieving, stealing, Honeywell
Has done, been hanged and is in Hell.
is my prayer for Christ's sake.

SOUTHERNER & SLAVEHOLDER.

Henry Grew's Letter.

We never refuse a well-written communication touching the subject of Slavery, however much it may be in opposition to our sentiments. We advocate and mean to maintain the liberty of speech in its broadest sense. We hold, however, that it would have been no lack of courtesy, and no infringement upon the right of speech on that subject, to withhold this paper from the respected and beloved name of our friend Mr. Grew, which we publish in another column. It may, indeed, seem to be rather a want of courtesy to say that we think the letter characterized rather by a love of fault-finding, than a love of the cause, and that it is calculated, so far as it may have any influence, to do nothing but mischief; but we believe it. Perhaps our friend would rather we had suppressed the letter than speak of it thus, but as we recognize his and others' right to be heard in our columns, so we maintain it still.

The letter however needs no very long comment. We might simply express our regret at the apparently carping spirit of the writer, and our surprise at this novel exhibition from one whom we know to be a most sincere and devoted friend of the slave's cause, and who, we have always thought, looked to and dwelt upon, the important points of agreement between him and others on this great question, rather than by petty points of difference. But we wish also to point out how striking an instance the letter is of that "bigotry" which it is intended to reprove.

There was not in the New England Convention, Mr. Grew thinks, a "faithful" or "truthful" friend of the slave; for there was not one present "faithful" enough to join him in his peculiar principle—in his test question—of Anti-Slavery; while all were declaring their belief in a watch-word in the application of which, as he believes, they are unfaithful. This severe rebuke Mr. Grew administers to the New England Abolitionists because they do not recognize his standard of Anti-Slavery duty as the highest; and many of them, because of its impracticableness, do not recognize it as a duty at all. Certainly he is right in rebuking them, if he thinks they deserve it, albeit the rebuke is written on a sheet of cotton-slave-labour paper. But we demur at the charge of unfaithfulness, when after all, the difference between him and them is rather negative than positive. It is not that he refrains altogether from slave-produce, and they use it altogether, but that he uses less than they do. But while he professes a duty which he does not practise, they hesitate to practise a duty which, like him, they do not mean, or cannot perform. Surely the difference is not so great between them—he, at least, is not so much better than they in this matter that he is therefore entitled to to rebuke them for their shortcoming.

We wonder that this letter from the cotton-paper beneath the fingers of our friend should not have checked his pen in recording his protest "against the bigotry of abolitionism?" Mr. Phillips, in his remark, referred to a certain class of men,—and their abettors,—who committed a bare-faced robbery of the property of the American Anti-Slavery Society that its organized existence might be destroyed, certain of its most prominent and efficient members crippled in their efforts, and the cause delivered over into the hands of men who, as their actions then showed, and as time has proved of many of them since, were neither honest nor high-minded men in the Anti-Slavery or worldly sense of the words.

Between such men and the Abolitionists there has been a difference, and a division. But *Abolitionists* were not divided among themselves; only dishonest, unprincipled men separated from Abolitionists. This Mr. Phillips has always declared, and we are sure that he is incapable of calling it a division in the family when one tosses a burglar out of the window, or turns a dishonest servant into the street. And the Church would hardly be accused of religious bigotry that excommunicated, without condemning the heathen, the whole body of sellers of communion cups for old silver. Neither is that "the bigotry of abolitionism," which denies that there was a division among Abolitionists, when the enemies of the cause withdrew, and even if it were, the indictment would be with a poor grace preferred against us upon a sheet of cotton paper, from one who declares those to be faithless to the cause who wear cotton shirts.

☞ We must apologize for the various typographical errors in our last week's paper. Mr. Henry, who has almost from its commencement printed the *Standard*, has left us, we hope, for a position of more profit than the American Anti-Slavery Society could afford to make that which he has so long filled with such credit to himself as a diligent and correct printer. The office is now in the hands of younger men. Some inconvenience and errors were inevitable at the outset, but we think that this number will show that they have "got their hand in." The only error we observe in the last paper, which the reader will be pleased to correct himself is the 7th from the line of the 4th paragraph of the letter from Boston, where, for "*unknown country*," read "*unknown countryman*."

The Nomination of the Barnburners.—That Martin Van Buren is again a candidate for the Presidency, is probably news to nobody now. The universal interest that is taken in the nomination, shows its importance, and, no doubt, it will receive a very general support from the Democratic party. Gov. Dodge, who is the nominee for the Vice-Presidency upon the same ticket, is said to be the most popular man in the West; and his friends declare that his name, with Van Buren's, in that section of country, will make it necessary, as young Van Buren said of some other section, that affidavits should be made, to convince the people that Cass was a candidate.

We publish in this week's paper the letter of Mr. Van Buren to the Utica Convention, in which he gives a full exposition of his views upon the question upon which the country. To an Abolitionist, of course, it will be very far from satisfactory. But, what it professes to be, it is a most important and able document. Martin Van Buren, by it, and by the nomination of his friends, is placed in a far higher and more responsible position than ever before by him, while in office. He is at the head of the first party that, for more than a quarter of a century, in this country, has seemed in earnest to maintain a vital principle, and that has had one, which, in the circumstances of the country, was worthy of maintenance by a great party. Martin Van Buren has been sacrificed by the South. The act has anointed his eyes also, as it did those of Mr. Adams. We trust that with as much wisdom, but less of vindictiveness, with the same earnestness, but without any alloy of personal revenge, to satisfy him, they may be as well understands the relation between North and South, and that he is ready to encounter the tempest which, no man can fail to see, is coming. At last we have a Northern party, thank God! and the revolution now is past recall.

Mr. Hale, we hear from very good authority, will, without doubt, withdraw in favour of the Barnburners' nomination. We shall not believe him the man of good sense that we take him to be, if he does not. The new party proposes to do nearly all that the Liberty party could do, and are very much in earnest. Mr. Hale is simply a young Democrat, and willfind his ends answered by the Utica Convention.

"Off with his Head—So much for Buckingham."—We regret to see that J. T. Buckingham, editor of the Boston Courier, has withdrawn from that paper. He retires because he cannot, in accordance with the requirements of the other proprietors of the Courier, give his support to the nominees of the late Whig party. So much for being honest and capable! The *Boston Advertiser* by its stupidity, and the *Atlas* by its want of principle, flourish and are popular, while the ablest, the most fearless, and only independent editor that Boston has known for many years,—always excepting Garrison—is thrown overboard, or throws himself over, because he cannot choose to sacrifice his own in a matter of public policy. Honorable as Mr. Buckingham's editorial life has always been he never did a thing more to his credit than retiring from it under such circumstances.

Douglass and the Leaguers.—The *Chronotype* says that several votes were cast in the League Convention for Frederick Douglass as the Vice Presidential Candidate of that party, and the editor—Elizur Wright—thinks that Douglass would hardly stand such a temptation to break down the compromises of the U. S. Constitution. We are not at all surprised at this suspicion of Douglass' integrity. The class of men who mainly compose the Liberty party—the editor of the *Chronotype* is a fair specimen—hold that a nomination for office is the chief end of man, and that however convenient and desirable principles, morality, and all that sort of thing may be on some occasions, they should never be allowed to stand in the way of the hope of an office. The *Chronotype* has merely judged Douglass by its own standard of morality. That fact, however, that Douglass was apparently willing to give his influence to the objects of the Liberty League by appearing and speaking at their meeting, will very likely lead many persons to suppose that the *Chronotype* is right in insinuating that he might be bribed to go a step further. But Frederick Douglass is no more to be bought than he is a coward, and we are sure he will never abandon a principle for so equivocal an honour as a Liberty League, or Liberty party nomination.

Easily Satisfied.—The *Plymouth Memorial*, a Whig paper published at Plymouth, Mass., marvels that any Abolitionist can hesitate in choosing between Cass and Taylor. I would certainly be difficult to get a more willing and subservient tool of the slave-power than Cass, but the *Memorial* had better not say anything about Taylor, if it wishes to keep the name of being a better than Cass, that is, that he is pledged to obey the voice of the people; and this voice as expressed by a Whig Congress, would be strongly in favour of "curbing Slavery." How much of the voice of the people, the Master of the Bloodhounds has been allowed to hear north of Mason and Dixon's line, has not yet been made manifest, and as to the Whig party, we are entirely of the opinion of Mrs. Gamp's friend touching that excellent woman's friend Mrs. Harris—"there ar'nt no such a person."

The Ruin of the West India Colonies.—The *Guiana Times*, in an article on the present condition of the West India Colonies, observes:—

"The Colonies are ruined"—such is the cry. Now supposing, even, for arguments sake, that the whole of the Colonial planters are ruined, it does not necessarily follow that the Colonies are ruined. Nobody ever thought of saying, when England's mightiest merchants were prostrated in the panic of last year, that therefore England was ruined. The Colony still remains. Without possessing possibly an estate would give remunerative returns on the enormous amount of capital formerly invested in them, but the question is still open, can sugar be profitably produced in the Colonies at the present position? We see no reason to doubt it, and we believe that at no time in the Colony practical men who are willing, as opportunities offer, to invest their savings in sugar estates, as they come into the market.

Slavery in the District.—Mr. Hale, in the Senate on Saturday, offered a resolution, instructing the Committee on the District of Columbia, to bring in a bill abolishing Slavery in said District. It was lost by the following vote,—

Yeas—Messrs. Clarke of R. I. Corwin of Ohio, Davis of Mass. Hale of N. H. Miller of N. J. and Upham of Vt.—5.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Atchison, Atherson, Bell, Benton, Borland, Bradbury, Breese, Bright, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Miss. Dickinson, Dix, Dodge, Dodge, Dowas, Fair, Fitzgerald, Foote, Hamlin, Houston, Hunter, Johnson, of Md., Johnson of La., Johnson of Geo. Lewis, Mangum, Mason, Niles, Pearce, Sebastian, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Westcott and Yulee—36.

Henry Clay has been appointed United States Senator, by the Governor of Kentucky. He declines accepting the office.

Domestic Correspondence.

From our Philadelphia correspondent.

Philadelphia, 17th June, 1848.

Ms. Gay:—There is probably no city in the Union which is richer in historical associations, and in relics of the colonial and revolutionary times, than Philadelphia. There is still standing, in Fifth street, near Chesnut, the house in which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence,—an old-fashioned, two-story building, which has quite an air of antiquity among the more recent structures in its neighbourhood. The room is still point ed out in which the arch-Democrat penned those famous words, which have proved so terrible to the Tories and the Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"—words with which his own actions were at times but too sadly inconsistent, and which were re-echoed by the nation with but a faint idea, indeed, of their mighty import, when it, in its turn, became the slave-driving lever in one hands for the overthrow of American Slavery. The house in which the Declaration was written is now, as it was then, occupied as a tavern.

In our State House too, as every one knows, that Declaration was signed; and in the room of the same building hangs the celebrated Liberty Bell which was rung immediately after the signing was completed.

Within the limits of Kensington, (which, though constituting a part of the city, is a separate corporation, and therefore not included within the city proper,) stood the old mansion house which William Penn and the Indian sagamores, and purchased from them the land which he would not receive as a gift from his king; thus, refusing, even at that early day, to acknowledge the justice of what has been called "the right of discovery." This house is now in a ruinous condition. The wooden floors, in many, in the bosom of primeval woods. A more beautiful incident does not occur in our history than of this large hearted and free spirited Quaker, with his full confidence in the power of justice and kindness, meeting the untaught savages of the forest under the broad and elm tree, and there concluding the treaty between the Indian and European which was never broken. The last remnant of this tree was blown down some years since, and the wood was manufactured into various souvenirs, among which the writer is the owner of a small block of marble, bearing an inscription in commemoration of the treaty, the whole place is, (greatly to the discredit of the corporation of Kensington,) in a miserable state of repair.

Not far from this, some time since, a meeting was held in Independence Square, to congratulate the French nation on the organization of a Republican form of Government, in the proceedings of which, by the way, coloured men, for the first time in a popular assembly in Philadelphia, participated. Certain resolutions were adopted, almost or quite unanimously, awaiting the proper credit to the Provisional Government for that glorious crowning act of the revolution, the abolition of Slavery in all the French dependencies. The committee appointed to transmit the proceedings of the meeting to France, with an address, have, I believe, not yet been able to obtain these resolutions, and forwarded a copy of the proceedings thus mutilated. A meeting has since been called for the consideration of this high-handed measure, and to take the proper notion upon it. I have not yet learned the result.

The excitement resulting from the late Whig nomination has died away somewhat, but there are hopeful indications of an extensive rebellion at work in Governor Vanoe, one of the delegates to the convention from Ohio, so happily denominated "the pure church," and from which he piously warned the disaffected not to separate themselves without due and serious consideration. You remarked in the last Standard that this nomination was a long stride toward a dissolution of the union of these States. For this consummation so "devoutly to be wished," let us at least, as in duty bound, ever hope and pray.

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"What is the cause of all this great commotion, motion ?" It cannot be surpassed.

Yours as ever,

H. W. G.

Notes on New Books.

Blackwood's Magazine.—The June number of Messrs. Scott and Co's. reprint of Blackwood has been issued for more than three weeks, and is as usual in advance of the Edinborough edition. It seems hardly worth while to notice the table of contents so long after its publication, though there is nothing in it that spells by ten days' keeping. A paper upon the Chartists, one upon the French Revolution, and another upon Lombardy and the Italian war, are all political, historical articles of great interest and value. The Doctor, The Doctor's Last Ill., is equal to either part that has preceded it, and remind us of Tristan Shandy, though not intended as an imitation. *Life in the far West.* No. 1 is an exceedingly graphic sketch of life among the Indians and hunters of the Rocky Mountains. Guesses at Truth, is apparently a very just though severe review of a book which has not been republished in this country, though the writer is very far from wise or discriminating, we think, in his strictures upon Archbishop Whately's leading will power and the lovers of the gentle art, and "The Ines and his Bride" amuse very but both inveterate story-reviewers who may not see the satire lu it.

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GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

SEVEN DAYS

LATER FROM EUROPE.

Arrival of the Britannia.

The Britannia arrived at this port on Monday morning. The news-boat Benus Vista met her at Halifax, and arrived at Boston with her news on Sunday afternoon.

She reports trade very dull in Europe, money plenty, cotton, flour and grain declining in price.

Three of the Chartist leaders have been arrested in London, and committed for trial. Public meetings are frequently held, and at several of them rows have taken place, which the police have obliged to quell.

Old and Young Ireland have fraternized. A new Society is to be formed called the Irish League. The conviction of Mitchel has rather increased than allayed the discontent.—It is said in London, Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence,—an old-fashioned, two-story building, which has quite an air of antiquity among the more recent structures in its neighbourhood. The room is still point ed out in which the arch-Democrat penned those famous words, which have proved so terrible to the Tories and the Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"—words with which his own actions were at times but too sadly inconsistent, and which were re-echoed by the nation with but a faint idea, indeed, of their mighty import, when it, in its turn, became the slave-driving lever in one hands for the overthrow of American Slavery. The house in which the Declaration was written is now, as it was then, occupied as a tavern.

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Old and Young Ireland have fraternized. A new Society is to be formed called the Irish League. The conviction of Mitchel has rather increased than allayed the discontent.—It is said in London, Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, and many articles were sold at prices far beyond their intrinsic value, as relics. A brother of Mr. Mitchel came passenger in the Britannia.

France.—It is announced that the Prince de Joinville had arrived at Paris and was arrested.

Prince Louis Napoleon is understood to be elected for Paris. He will probably obtain there returns beside that of the Capital. The Government of course will not dare to molest him.

The *European Times* states that the resignation of Lamartine will be followed by that of Ledru Rollin, for whom suspicions are expressed that Lamartine was a party to the movement of the 15th of May.

Caussidiere, late Prefect of Police, charges Lamartine with having supported him in the Constituent, which enabled him to get up the conspiracy. Lamartine's friends alledge that his aim was, by making a popular demonstration to avoid a collision in the streets of Paris. M. Thiers is reported as not unlikely to succeed Lamartine in authority.

The returns for the eleven vacancies in the deputation of Paris were proposed on the 9th at the Hotel da Ville. The following is the list of the successful candidates: Cavaignac, Moras, Goudchaux, Changanier, Thiers, Pierre Leroux, Victor Hugo, Louis Buonaparte, La Grange, Bolleau and Proudhom.

After a stormy debate in the National Assembly, a decree for preventing tumultuous assemblies in the streets was carried by 487 against 92. Several additional regiments are expected immediately in Paris.

The constitutional Committee has decided, according to the *Presse*, on the following points:

"The political Constitution of France shall be a Democratic Republic, one and indivisible. This proposition was adopted unanimously. The project of the Constitution is to be preceded by a Declaration of Rights, besides the rights already enjoyed by the people, those of gratuitous education, assistance, and labor. The question as to the legislative powers gave rise to several long discussions. It is said that the Assembly will be composed of only one legislative chamber, composed of 750 members. In case, however, of a revision of the Constitution, the Assembly should remain, as at present, composed of 900 members.

The Executive Power is to be entrusted to a President, assisted by three Ministers in each department and by ballot. The Executive Government is to be elected by universal suffrage, by direct universal suffrage, by communes, for four years and is not eligible to reelection. Two millions of francs is to be necessary for the nomination of the President. The committee has not yet decided on the question as to the duties of the President and of the Ministers."

The Committees on Finance and on Public Works, have made reports on the means to be taken by the Government assuming the rail roads. The Committee on agriculture have reported a bill for the creation of fifty Colonies for undertaking the cultivation of land draining on a grand scale. The Committee of the Assembly have rejected the project of Law for Divorce.

There have been further disturbances at Lyons among the workmen. On the Rouen Railway the labourers demanded the suppression of the machinery employed there. Disturbances have also occurred at Limoges.

Louis Blanc has published a statement relative to his part in the affair of the 15th May. He says:

"I commanded no rioters, and went only to expose the audacity of certain falsehoods, that I have never had any relations, direct or indirect, with Francois Barbaji. Has paid, and Huber. I have only seen the two former once in my life. Caussidiere, I have never seen. Sobrier the latter at all. Personally I know neither of them. Like several of my colleagues of the Old Provisional Government, I was sometimes with citizen Sobrier before the meeting of the National Assembly, but since then we have remained one place strangers to each other. As regards Albert and Barbes, I should be ashamed of myself if, knowing them to be prisoners and unhappy, I should hesitate to say boldly that I am their friend."

Italy.—On the 30th, the city of Peschiera capitulated, and was taken possession of by the Piedmontese. The inhabitants had subsisted for several days on horse-flesh. Several engagements had taken place in the neighbourhood between the Piedmontese and Austrians, in which the latter were defeated.

Rome.—It is said that Pope Pius has recovered all his popularity, and on the feast of St. Philip the population made a brilliant manifestation in his favour.

A revolutionary movement had taken place at Milan, but was suppressed.

An insurrection is said to have taken place at Calabria, and that a Provisional Government had been established. There is also a rumour that the king has been dethroned, which is probably incorrect.

The Diet at Innspruck is still at Innspruck. The disturbances continues at Vienna, and much blood is shed in desperate battles between the people and the soldiery.

A Provisional Government has been formed by a Congress of Slavonic delegates assembled at Prague, at Prague, but it is denounced as illegal by the Vienna ministry.

The Constituent National Assembly of Germany at Frank fort has issued a proclamation in which it solemnly declares that it fully recognises the right of the people of other than German race living within the territories of the Germanic Confederation, to enjoy perfect equality in the official use of their languages, in the church, school, literature, administration, and tribunals.

Prussia.—Things seem in a very unsettled state, though order is still maintained at Berlin.

Denmark.—The war still continues without any special result.

Spain.—The Belgian Minister has left Madrid, but the reasons for his departure are not publicly known. The British residents at Cadiz have been obliged to give security for their good behaviour.

Died.

In this city, on the 30th of May, Elizabeth S., wife of Rev. Joel Hawes, and daughter of Rev. Ansel Dwight, of New Haven, Connecticut, in the 30th year of her age.

At New Bedford, Massachusetts, on the 17th inst., Mrs. Andrew Robeson.

Also at the same place, Mrs. William R. Rodman.

Married.

At Only, Accomac county, Virginia, June 13th, Dr. Alexander T. P. Gaskey, United States Navy, to Miss Lucy E. Bagwell, all of the New York Press.

At St. George's Bloomsbury, (Eng.) Mary Campbell, daughter of Dugald Dalgleish, Esq., and niece of Adolphe Schloss, of the late Thomas Campbell, Esq., L. L. D., author of "The Pleasures of Hope," and late Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, to Capt. W. Aldred Hill, M. A., of Worcester College, Oxford.

NOTICES.

FLORAL EXHIBITION—4th OF JULY.

A Floral Exhibition for the benefit of the children at Haddall's Island, will take place on the 4th of July. All benevolently disposed people who can contribute flowers, or induce others to do so, are requested to send them to the care of Isaac T. Hopper, at the office of the New York Friend, Association. No. 15 Centre Street, on Monday the 3rd inst. or otherwise at Haddall's Island, early on the morning of the 4th. A Steamboat will make several trips during the day, of which notice will be given in the daily papers. The flowers will be sold after the exhibition and pic-nic, and the proceeds applied to purchasing a library for the children.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The sixth Annual Meeting of the Western Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Salem Columbiana county, Ohio, commencing on the evening of the 16th, 17th, and 18th of August, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M.

Let a full representation of the slaves' friends come up at this occasion from all parts of the State. The political leaders are marshalling their hosts for a conflict, their followers in a policy of which the end corresponds to the support of their party banners. Time, and money, and labour are expended to secure their object. Let Abolitionists, in the Western Reserve of Ohio be as strong in the power of Truth, be lukewarm and indifferent while politicians are so earnest in their labours, so active and devoted in the cause of Error. Much should be done in the next year, and should encourage us to renewed effort, for every movement of conscience and principle tells here, having a bearing upon the question of Slavery, foreshadows the destruction of the system, and the oppressors feel that it is so. Every moral reform tends to purify society, and save themselves from the destruction their corruption has brought upon them; and the efforts of the Abolitionists to abate the evil of Slavery, should be proportionally great. Arrangements should be made at the coming meeting to secure a Lecturer against the next year, by the lips of the living speaker, and to send more widely the circulation of the Society's paper the Anti-Slavery Bugle. Let the friends of the cause be there, absent themselves for any light cause, for the presence of all, and the counsel of all is desirable.

Besides the Abolitionists of the West who will be present on the occasion, Henry C. Wright and C. C. Burleigh, are expected to be in attendance, and perhaps other representatives of the East.

LOT HOLMES,
Recording Sec.

WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The result of the effort made last year by the Abolitionists of the West, to form a Slavery Fair, was abundantly gratifying; and fully demonstrated the practicability and success of the plan. The Fair was repeatedly recommended to by many, the avails of whose labour greatly aided the Anti-Slavery cause, and enabled it to prosecute its efforts with renewed vigour. Two exigencies of the cause called us into action last year, and efforts were needed then. The victory of Freedom is not yet won—the clash of battle resounds, and the friends of American woman are still obstinated and imbruted. The blighting influences that Slavery has extended over the South and over the North, in the Church and in the State, have not been broken, and the State redeemed from its degradation. We, therefore, friends of the slave, are called upon to support by our labors of Liberty—to your reverence for the Eternal principles of Right, and your deep abhorrence of whatever tramples what may be used for the dissemination of Anti-Slavery truth—and the diffusion of Light and Love.

No inconsiderable portion of the donations at last year's Fair, was made by the Ladies of Salem, Ohio, where the merchant and the Manufacturer—will they not be as generous now as then, and each give ungrudgingly and literally that which is their own? Let the articles cannot readily be transported to the Fair, may, with a little effort, be converted into articles of exchange, which can be easily sent. Those who wish to aid in this work, need not be at a loss how to do it. Let them consult together, and by timely co operation, may we not confidently hope they will speedily be supplied with articles for the Fair? Can co-operation be refused to the duties of the President and of the Ministers."

The Committees on Finance and on Public Works, have made reports on the means to be taken by the Government assuming the rail roads. The Committee on agriculture have reported a bill for the creation of fifty Colonies for undertaking the cultivation of land draining on a grand scale. The Committee of the Assembly have rejected the project of Law for Divorce.

There have been further disturbances at Lyons among the workmen. On the Rouen Railway the labourers demanded the suppression of the machinery employed there. Disturbances have also occurred at Limoges.

Louis Blanc has published a statement relative to his part in the affair of the 15th May. He says:

"I commanded no rioters, and went only to expose the audacity of certain falsehoods, that I have never had any relations, direct or indirect, with Francois Barbaji.

Poetry.

From Punch.

MAY-DAY'S LIBERTY TREES.

MAY has come up with quickening breath, to breathe
about the flowers
That through the mold of wood and wold peep up from
April showers;
All is blossom, bloom, and burgeon on trim lawns and
woodland lea,
And Freedom's trees are sprouting, like other kinds of
trees.

So kindly Lady Liberty, to her May-day game addrest,
Hath thrown her nursery open to the nations of the
West.
"Fair speed, old friends and new ones! let each his
skill essay
To choose his Tree of Liberty, this merry month of
May.

"Mine is a Dryad's nature—I flourish and I fade,
I have my seathings and my blights, hate time and time
of shade:
So each of you his tree shall plant, and call it after me,
And I shall wave or wag, as fate or flourishes my tree.

"I have laurels whose green glossiness is due to bloody
rains,
Whose roots suck strength from that dark loam which
fattens battle plains;
I have mountain pines, rock-rifted, slow of growth as
they are strong;
Poplars in one night spindled up, as weak as they are
long.

"I have broad plantains, such as coated Hesiod' wearers
clear;
Olives the growth of Italy, no longer shrunk and sere:
And this green size, whose genteel limbs still blent
the axe's stroke,
Ringed with a thousand summers—the knotty British
Oak."

To minded *Marseillaise* and *Mourir pour la Patrie*,
Musket in hand, red cap on head, sprang France to
choose his tree.

"Laurels? Bah! Of that plant, for me at will to
pick and pull,
The Little Corporal stock France, if possible, too full.

"Pines? Ah *oui—Guillaume Tell, et ce grand tenor,*
Duprez!
Olives?—*non!* for a desert, or to help a salad—
maigre—
The Oak? Ah, *par example!* The Oak for France, *que*
non!
The Oak!—a grand, grand, grand *jamais!* Ah, *perfide*
Albion!

"*Voyons*—What's left? Ah, yes: this trunk, so gentille
and so slim,
So nobly sudded, too, in growth—I fix my choice on
him!
The Tree of Liberty for France the Poplar I proclaim,
And with a grand fraternal *fête* inaugurate the same."

Next German came much bemused with Burschen-
schaft and beer:
He first was all for fixing there, then all for fixing here;
One moment hot for Poplar, the next agog for Oak.
Till Liberty began to think his choice would end in
smoke.

So she left him roaming vaguely through her garden for
a tree,
Now roaring an "*auf Bruder,*" now a *Crambambuli*,"
Hid in clouds of his own blowing—*meyn-age* in cost and
lack,
And apparently quite busy as to what he would be at.

Then Italy came leaping, like a strong man out of sleep,
And with outspread arms the Laurel boughs and Olive
down did sweep:
"Be these my trees, and thine this wreath—for peace
and for renown."
And Liberty looked on well pleased, and took the proffered crown.

But Britain in that garden stood, like one familiar there,
And watched the rush of stranger guests with an untroubled air,
And shook her head, or nodded, as a man choose his tree of choice,
But never shifted foot the while, nor lifted up his voice.

"Your tree?" at last quoth Liberty (when Britain calm thrive—
A thing of growth, however slow, is ever vein alive
Let France have Poplars, if she will; and at your garden call
For a tree per Revolution: my Oak is once for all.

"All he asks is careful tending. Foul things, at times, no doubt
Will roost in his broad branches; I must put them to the front.
He has dead wood to cut away; bruised branches to sustain:
But still my Oak, through all is Oak—through all shall Oak remain."

The following plaintive verses are by the accomplished and unfortunate Queen Anne Boleyn;

On Death I rocke me on sleepe,
Bringe me on quiet reste;
Let passe my guiltelesse goste
Out of my carefull breste,
Toll on the passine bell,
Lette noise the doleful kneil,
Let the mourninge dethe tell,
For I must dye,
The is no remedy,
For now I dye.

My paynes who can express?
Alas! they are so stronge,
My dolor will not suffer strength
My lyfe for to prolonge;
Toll on the passinge bell, &c.

Alone in prison stronge,
I wayle my destenye;
Wo worth this cruel hap that I
Should taste this mysere.
Toll on the passinge bell, &c.

Farewell my pleasures past,
Welcome my penance laste;
I feel my torments so increse
That lyfe cannot remayne.
Cease now the passinge bell,
Rung is my doleful kneil
For the sound my dethe dothe tell;
Dethe dothe drawe me nye,
Sound my end dolefully;
For now I dye.

Miscellany.

From Douglas Jerrold's Magazine.

MEN OF THOUGHT AND MEN OF ACTION.

The popular mind is fond of broad distinctions. The masses mould its every impressions in large formulas, without regard to the multiplicity of minor differences. Its generalizations are always broad, and consequently often loose; but admirably adapted to ordinary conclusions. Unimportant conclusions are sometimes drawn from these generalizations as if they were absolute and precise. Thus the world has contented to divide mankind into Men of Thought and Men of Action; and, for all ordinary purposes, the division may be accepted. We know it means only to classify those in whom thought has the predominance, from those in whom thought is subjected to the mere animal and instinctive tendencies. But this distinction, of which we all see the propriety, passing into a formula, is received as an absolute truth; and from it is deduced the current opinion, that Men of thought are unfit for Action, and should not be entrusted with the affairs of Government.

It is worth while to examine this opinion a little. We know that men are not so divided into two distinct classes, but that every man has an active capacity for thought and for action;—is both a Thinker and a Doer. The stupidest breaker of stones upon the king's highway has an immortal soul. He is not a mere stone-breaking machine; but has a thinking faculty within him. The very idiot has his imbecile theory of life upon which he acts in every question becomes, therefore, when looked at as a matter of philosophical speculation, only a question of degree. And the final test in some cases of the thinking faculty is more active than in others. Of course you may take the two extremes of the scale; the meditative recluse on the one hand, and the stone-breaker on the other; but even on that supposition, the Man of Thought will be found, with all his imperfections, infinitely preferable to the Man of Action. That is to say, the one thinking, however sickly, *impractical* recluse would really be better fitted to govern men, than the hardest-headed, practical stone-breaker. It is by stating the extremes of a case, that we are often more clearly enabled to perceive the real truth. And in this case, I think that we have just put there can be no doubt that the current notion of the incapacity of Men of Thought is redeemed of absurdity.

But let us go more into the heart of the question. Men accustomed to habits of study and speculation; accustomed to pass laborious nights in elaborating theories of government, of social economy, and of morals, are soothed in their own thoughts, that, when they come into society, they seem "in it but not of it;" they are what is called "dreamy." They have no interest in the small details of life; they mismanage their household affairs; they become the laughing-stocks of folly; they are looked on from their high seat as the stones are broken against the posts. And it is because students have generally been men of these unpractical, meditative habits, that the world on occasions have been drawn against theory which we so constantly hear in the people's mouths—"O, that is all theory!" they exclaim; or, "He is a mere theorist! Ah, that is very well in theory!" These phrases all used with a certain sarcasm, as if theory were the given name for caprice or idle dreaming. Yet it is very necessary that all men should understand that theory is nothing of the kind. It is a torch which lights us onward in our path; and the brighter that torch burns, the surer and safer is our walk. But it out, and we are in darkness and confusion. True it is that theories are often false, wild, and dishonest; but the good and charitable man is restored by its abuse; and because there are *false theories* we must not be irreverent towards *theory*.

The man who decisions so sarcastically against theories, is himself a theorist without knowing it. The whole processes of his life, all his acts, all his hopes, beliefs, and aspirations, are but a bundle of theories; very often deep-rooted theories, and very false ones theories. He may not have been the first man who discovered them; he may not even know what they are; but he accepts them as the life-blood which keeps as final truths, and acts upon them. It has been well said, that no man is so much a slave to mere place as he who thinks he has no principles: their power which he uses on all occasions. In the same way, no man is so abject a slave to theories as he whose "large discourse of reason" has not "looked before and after" to the principles which have been familiarised with a great diversity of theories. It is quite clear, inasmuch as we are not machines, but do actually possess the faculty of thought, that all men must have that we do even, in our most ordinary occupations, follow their theory. We do all of us carry in our hands a little moveable of larger, which we daily use. They either lighted for ourselves, or have accepted, ready lighted, from the hands of others, and by the aid of which we endeavour to struggle successfully onwards.

It is very true that poets, philosophers, historians, and mathematicians, have not been generally men of business. What then is the reason of business? He is a man of habits; he does to-day what he did yesterday: he thinks to-day what he thought yesterday: he has a fixed way in which he chooses his objects of choice, but never shifted foot the while, nor lifted up his voice. of *mere* men of business,) and his associations being for the most part connected with his occupation, his mind has acquired a certain set, and is inclined more to ready. But take this man of business from his counting house, and plunge him in the political arena, or the senate, and he is at once at sea, and finds that that readiness and tact which before distinguished him, are all gone, and he is a perfect child. He mind, accustomed to move in one orbit, is perplexed at the multiplicity of objects which are not being accustomed to *act spontaneously*, is helpless from want of precedent. Habits of business are essentially habits of action—things which are "done and recorded" but the real Man of Action is one who is capable of always seeing the thing to be done, and of having the resolution to do it. If he has precedent he new, he invents new plans. If the conditions be modified, he modifies his plans. His mind is not chained down to the mere mechanical habit of a man of business, but moves as vigorously in a new as in an old direction.

Doubtless there are men "so sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought," in whom the thinking faculty is so active that its very activity confuses and perplexes them: men, like Hamlet, who, by reasoning too much upon the means, waste the resolution to effect their ends. Hamlet is a good type of this class. He cannot bring himself to execute his father's commands with the promptness of a prompt heart, because he refines too much upon the best method of doing it. Thoughts crowd hurriedly upon his brain,—and there is not a strong will in his nature to suggesting such an infinity of purposes, that his brain is bewildered, and he ends by leaving vengeance to chance. And such cases, where passion and thought are at war, are not always to be met with. But even these men of Thought are generally capable of becoming very efficient Men of Action, nay, more, of becoming the most efficient Men of Action. As we are led by Hamlet to think, and not to act upon our thoughts, it is quite evident that our leaders must be thinkers; and the great leaders of mankind—the Moses, the Alfreds, the Luthers, the Cromwells, the Fredericks, the Napoleons, the Luthers, the Calvins—were pre-eminently Men of Thought. I then, because they thought deeply, and that they acted efficiently; for action, in its real sense, is not movement, it is not mere turbulence: it is the resultant of thought into deeds. Passion, when it ing into act of strong volitions. Were it otherwise, the greatest Men of Action would be smiths, miners, and handcraftsmen.

There is, however, one distinction which may be made, even amongst the Men of Thought. It is not every king of intellectual activity which is adapted to action. Long enough to our knowledge mankind it is imperative that a man should have a great intellect, as well as a strong will, some orders of mind are fitted for the task, and others are unsuited. The mathematician, the chemist, the physiologist, and the naturalist, may or may not have the faculties which shall fit him to act with effect. Bacon Arago is a striking living example of the union of political ability with scientific eminence; but in themselves mathematics, chemistry, &c., inasmuch as they are carried on by the reasoning faculties, and intellect alone—inasmuch as they call into play the logical part of the mind only—by no means fit their professors to become the leaders of men. Poets, historians, moralists, and all those whose intellects are employed on man and man's nature, as the subject of their investigation, are, and ever will be, the Leaders of men. They are our true kings—our true aristocracy. Of course, when I say *poets*, I do not mean mere versifiers; when I say historians, I do not mean compilers; when I say moralists, I do not mean declaimers of common-places and maxims. I mean men who have *the eye to see* whatever is the truth; men who have the hearts to feel whatever the universal heart of mankind will feel; not book-writers, nor book-readers, nor journalists, nor versifiers; but men of genius, and genius is emphatically the possession of "an eye to see." What the men of genius see, is see clearly, and enables others to see. Its book-writers and book-readers —the crowds of imitators, who, because they catch up a faint echo of a poet's song, imagine themselves poets, do not really see clearly, but only boisterously proclaim what he saw before them, are not leaders!—mere followers; mere sheep, jumping the hedge which the ram has leaped, and which always has been, and always will be, the one best sheep of the flock—the one who can take the first leap, and lead the bleating gregarious crowd "to fresh fields and pastures new."

It is generally supposed, especially in England, that the Men of Thought are men who pass their leisure hours; that the historian is a man, only fitted to fill with dignity a professor's chair, and lord our shelves with ponderous and somewhat unreadable volumes; that Bacon, has shown us, by example, that which was indeed evident enough before to all thinking men, that the historian can become a minister, and that very readers to satisfy their own minds were swayed by their convictions no less than by their interests; that they had immortal souls in their bosoms, and that they were capable of being impelled to action by one who would set up as a leader. And yet the shouts of derision which burst from Englishmen when they first heard of the forming one of the Ministry by Macaulay! The idea of a poet becoming a statesman, and the ruler of the destinies of a great nation, was considered ridiculous! The *Athenæum*, that day lying down his Lute and taking up Protocols—to cease singing and begin reigning—to cease charming their ears with melody, and to begin governing their understandings and controlling them into acts! It was indeed a most piquant paradox! All our practical men were full of derision. Yet this poet-statesman has shown, in spite of false men (and the wonder is that he has not made many.) that Lamartine was the man to whom all France looked as to her true leader. He was the only leader and saviour of the Republic. So evident has this become, that at last England also begins to look to him as to her leader. Even the ancient and fitted ruler France could have! Yet those very men who now cry up Lamartine would stand amazed if you ventured to suggest that Peel or Stanley or Aberdeen he did not sit in the house of Peers—her men of genius who could better wield her destinies than even the "descendants of antient houses." Of course! It is a subject for laughter that the country of ours better fitted to become our rulers than the first-born of "men of weight and family." Strange as it may seem, the Men of Thought become thousands of fat lead does not endow the possessor with infinite wisdom—does not give him "the eye to see"—does not put him in the preponderance of mind! In spite of pathetic remonstrances about having a "great stake in the country" the thought is the mighty power which governs the world; and the great stake in a country is in the possession of its *leading ideas*, not of its best acres.

It is of absolute importance we should clearly understand that our rulers are Men of Thought; for in the next fifty years European Democracy is inevitable; and although despotisms and monarchies may for a time struggle against it, they can be only on with something like efficiency by mere *castes* and classes—on hereditary traditions successively modified by Men of Thought—in the case with Democracy. The political problem is daily becoming more complicated. It is ceasing to be the law for legislators and rulers, but the People beginning to legislate for themselves. Democracy, which, as I always say, is as inevitable as death, must sweep away with it a great mass of political speculation, and political and religious prejudice, before the whole problem of social existence. The necessity for Thinkers becomes more imperitive. If the People are to govern themselves, it becomes those the people are to be taught to think—to think—to think—